1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

773 military power of Coorgs with their lack of certain rituals and their somewhat catholic dietary. It is interesting to note that Shri N. Chinnappa considers the account of the origin of Coorgs given in the Kāvēri Myth to be a true, historical account. He, however, mentions that the majority of Coorgs regard themselves as Kshatriyas and not as Ugras.[1]

584 Coorgs seem to be a distinct community in occupation of the forested mountains of Coorg for many centuries, and with a way [177] of life of their own. But they were throughout in contact with Sanskritic Hinduism, and religious movements like Lingāyaṭism affected them considerably.

[162] There are two subdivisions among Coorgs today: the first division is 41,026 strong, while the second contains only 666 individuals, according to the 1941 Census. Members of the latter division are called Amma Koḍagas, or Amma Coorgs, and they are highly Brahminized in their customs and ritual. They are vegetar- [291] ians and teetotallers, and nowadays they constitute an endogamous unit. Like the Brahmins they wear the sacred thread and observe [769] annual *shrāddhas* or ancestor-feasts at which only vegetarian food is offered to the dead ancestors.

584 It is said that Amma Coorgs are the descendants of a Coorg man 173 and a Brahmin girl of Wynāḍ, daughter of one Tāyikāṭ Tambiran, 551 who expelled his daughter from his home as she attained puberty before marriage. (Formerly, among Brahmins, it was regarded as both sinful and shameful to have in the house an unmarried girl who had attained puberty.) This girl married a Coorg, and her descendants came to be known as Amma Coorgs (*amma* = mother), and they observed the customs of their mother. The name of an • [104] Amma Coorg man has the suffix '*amma*' even though '*amma*' means 'mother', and is normally a suffix to a woman's name in certain parts of south India. In Coorg, a woman's name has the suffix '*avva*' which is the same as '*amma*', and a man's name has the suffix '*appa*' which means 'father'. It is said that formerly Amma Coorgs, who were concentrated in south Coorg, used to claim kinship with a similar group of people in Wynāḍ.

584 In the last few years of the reign of the last Rāja of Coorg, Amma 173 Coorgs claimed to be 'Kāvēri Brahmins', the descendants of the Brahmin disciples of the sage Agastya, husband of Kāvēri, before the latter flowed away as a river. The disciples twitted the master

[1] *Paṭṭōḷi Pajjmā*, pp. 19–20.

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exterminated by the usurping Rājas of the Ikkēri family, and may in their own eyes have constituted a sort of aristocracy; while Malla Coorgs represented the aggregate main body which was augmented by new accessions from kindred tribes'. He further states that Malla Coorgs include 'those whose descent from Wynāḍ Cheṭṭis or other foreign connexions is traditionally known, for it is no secret among the Coorgs that such additions have been made to their number and the house-names of such bear witness to the fact'.[1]

He also mentions that a poor Coorg was relegated to the inferior group, while a well-to-do Coorg, or one who held a high post in the government, claimed to be a Saṇṇa Coorg.

Cole tells us that Saṇṇa Coorgs greatly outnumbered the Malla Coorgs, that marriages between the two were not frequent, and that the Saṇṇa Coorgs were scattered all over Coorg while Malla Coorgs were more or less confined to north Coorg.[2]

The last point made by Cole seems particularly open to doubt as there seem to have been some Malla Coorgs in the extreme south. Again Saṇṇa Coorgs seem to have been concentrated in Coorg south of Mercara, and it has already been mentioned that the southerners regarded themselves as being superior to the northerners.

The early writers on Coorg refer to a division of Coorgs called 'Boḍḍu Coorgs'. Coorgs south of Mercara seemed to have regarded the Coorgs settled in north Coorg, in Yeḍavanāḍ, Gaḍināḍ, and Surlabhimuttunāḍ as inferior to themselves in intelligence. Hence the appellation '*boḍḍu*', which means 'stupid'. Richter and Cole[3] differ as to who the Boḍḍu Coorgs were, but it seems certain that Boḍḍu Coorgs were small pockets of the Coorg community scattered in areas inhabited mostly by Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas. They were influenced by the customs and manners of the latter castes, and occasionally these groups even intermarried. The situation was further complicated by the fact that both Tuḷu Gauḍas and Kannaḍa Okkaligas aspired to pass off for Coorgs.

Boḍḍu Coorgs were then Coorgs who lived at some distance from the main core of their group. Marriages between Boḍḍu

[1] G. Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887, pp. 21–22.
[2] R. A. Cole, *Manual of Coorg Law*, 1861, secs. 3, 5, 6.
[3] Ibid., sec. 3; Richter, *Castes and Tribes found in Coorg*, pp. 21–22.

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[p. 248]

GLOSSARY

104 **Aimara.** One of several sacred benches in the outer veranda or central hall of a Coorg house.

Kāraṇavanḍa aimara. Literally it means 'ancestors' bench'. One of the benches in the outer veranda, or a portion of it, so called. It is regarded as more sacred than other benches in the veranda.

Aruva. Family friend. Traditional relationship of friendship, frequently mutual, between two *okkas*.

Bainé palm. *Caryota urens*. Palm from the spathe of which toddy is drawn by a Kudiya, or low-caste man, for the consumption of himself and others, including Coorgs.

Bhāraṇi. Offering of cooked meat, liquor, puffed rice, &c., to village-deity or ancestor-spirit.

Bhaṭṭi. Measure equal to eighty seers. A rice-field was taxed according to the number of *bhaṭṭis* it yielded annually.

Bīra. Spirit of a man dying a violent death.

Nellakki boḷuk. Lamp burning in a niche in the western wall of the sacred central hall. Translated as 'wall-lamp' in the book.

Taiḷyakki boḷuk. Lamp kept on a sheet of rice spread in a bell-metal dining-dish (*taḷi*).

Dīkshé uttuva. Ritual, usually performed a few weeks after the death of a person, which completely frees the first-grade mourners from mourning.

Jaggery. Crude brown sugar made from the juice of sugar-cane, or the saps of various palms, either in the form of square blocks or small round cakes.

Jagīr. An assignment of the king's or government's share of the produce of a village or several villages to an individual for services rendered.

Jamma. Concession tenure under which Coorgs and certain others held land. A *jamma* landholder was formerly liable to be called up for military and other service by the state whenever necessary.

Jangama. Lingāyaṭ priest who wears ochre robes. Occasionally, a mendicant.

Jāti. Subcaste. One of the innumerable, tiny, endogamous, and occupational groups which constitute the effective units of the caste system. A *jāti* has only a regional application while *varṇa* has an All-India application.

Kaimaḍa. Ancestor-shrine near the ancestral house of a Coorg.

Kāraṇava. The apotheosized spirit of the dead ancestor of a Coorg *okka*.

Kāraṇava kola or **Kāraṇava téré.** The elaborate propitiation of the ancestors of a Coorg *okka*. Translated in the book as 'ancestor-propitiation'.

Kāraṇava taré. Raised platform round the trunk of a milk-yielding tree, in which stones representing ancestors are embedded. Translated in the book as 'ancestor-platform'.

Kāvukāra. One of several high-caste *okkas* having well-defined rights and duties at the festival of the local village-deity. Translated as 'festival-priest' in the book.

Kĕkangaḷa. Portion of the ancestral estate where the dead members of the *okka* are buried. When it is decided to cremate a dead person, an adjoining portion of the estate, called *tūṭangaḷa*, is used.

Kinḍi. Bell-metal vessel with a long spout at the side.

Kuḍupi. Hostility between two *okkas*. *Maradalé* is hostility between two villages or *nāḍs*.

Kupya. A gown, like a dressing-gown, worn by Coorgs on ritual occasions.

Lingāyaṭ. Non-Brahmin sectarian

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caste devoted exclusively to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati in their various manifestations.

Māda. Ritual performed on twelfth or sixteenth day of death which frees all except first-grade mourners from ritual mourning.

Maḍi. Ritual purity.

Mailigé. Normal ritual status which is really a mild form of impurity.

Mandu. Cleared, open space in village or *nāḍ* for dancing, or holding meetings, &c.

Mangala. Auspicious ceremony performed on certain occasions in the life of an individual.

Mantra. Hymn, sacred text, mystical verse, incantation or spell.

Mūrta. The most important part of the ritual of *mangala*.

Nāḍ. Territorial unit consisting of several villages.

Okka. Patrilineal, and patrilocal joint family, the basic kin-group among Coorgs. It is also a co-residential, commensal and property-owning group.

Paṇa. Unit of money equal to two annas and eight pies. There are six *paṇas* in a rupee.

Pandal. Decorated shed or booth erected in front of the house at marriage or other occasion.

Makka parijé. Custom by which a man raises up seed for his wife's natal *okka*, in addition to his own.

Okka parijé. Custom by which a man lives with his wife and raises up seed exclusively for her natal *okka*.

Paṭṇi. Day of fast during the festival of a village-deity.

Piṇḍa. Balls of rice or rice-flour, mixed with gingelly grains and other things offered to the spirit of a dead person or ancestor.

Polé. Ritual impurity of any sort.

Kuruḍu polé or **Tinga polé.** Pollution caused by menses.

Petta polé or **Puruḍu.** Pollution caused by birth. 104

Tiṇḍu polé. Pollution caused by a low-caste man coming too near.

Poleya. Untouchable caste.

Kail poḷud. Festival of arms.

Putri poḷud. Harvest-festival.

Pūja. Worship.

Ganga pūja. Worship of the sacred river Ganges. Water in any river, pond, or well is identified with the Ganges on certain ritual occasions.

Purāṇa. One of eighteen mythological works treating chiefly of cosmogony and divine genealogy.

Sammanda. Ritual conferring or withdrawing membership of an *okka*.

Seer. A grain measure of capacity or weight, varying in different parts of India. In the Kannaḍa country it is equal to the weight of twenty-four rupees or 0·6067 lb.

Takka. Headman.

Tappaḍaka. Ritual enumeration of the restrictions to be observed during a village-deity's festival.

Téré. Elaborate equipment, made principally of split bamboo, and coloured cloth of pith, worn by low-caste oracle at an ancestor-propitiation in a Coorg house, and at the festival of a village-deity.

Tiké. Extreme form of pollution from which mourners and the house in which they live suffer until the celebration of *Māda* ceremony.

Tiruvaḷkāra (m.), **Tiruvaḷkārchi** (f.). Oracle.

Ugra. A mixed caste, result of the marriage of a Kshatriya father and Shūdra mother.

Varṇa. Traditional scheme of classification of castes. According to this scheme there are four castes, three of which are 'twice-born', and the Untouchables are outside the pale of the caste system.

2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
AW5 Coorg AW5

Journal Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters.

Volume IV, 1938.

ARTICLE No. 4.

Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. EMENEAU.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in maːvn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

In 1855 Dr. H. Moegling, the first Protestant Missionary in Coorg, wrote a little book, entitled "Coorg Memoirs" which in 1866 was republished in German in an enlarged and amended edition. This book intended for a Missionary public furnishes extensive and correct information on social and religious topics and has been largely made use of in this volume.

I am also indebted to my late Assistant, Mr. A. Graeter, for his communications on the Coorg language which he has successfully studied.

But whatever source of information has been made use of—and I am under obligation to several Gentlemen for special communications and references, to whom I herewith offer my thanks—the materials have been worked with the view of forming a homogenous whole.

The Compiler's residence of 14 years amongst the Coorgs and his familiar intercourse with them in every part of the country as Inspector of the Government Vernacular Schools, may be accepted as a further guarantee for the reliable character of the information in this Gazetteer.

The greater portion of the Manual having been read in manuscript by Mr. Bowring, the late Chief-Commissioner, it may be considered as having passed official censorship.

In the spelling of native words, which are based upon their etymological roots, as far as these could be ascertained, an attempt has been made at a uniform system according to the one usually received by English Orientalists, except where established English usage has otherwise fixed the orthography. The short vowels are unaccented, the long have an acute accent above them and are pronounced with their natural sound as in German or Italian.

The distance of the Press rendering it impracticable for the author to correct the proofsheets, sundry misprints have been left which, however, are noted in the Errata.

G. Richter.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

CORRIGENDA.

Page	Instead of	Read
wherever	"w" in native words	"v"
vi	seperate	separate
5	doures	downs
8	Bisly-pass	Bisilu-pass
14	Chóvanhole	Choran-hole
20	Thimbergia	Thunbergia
25	draft	draught
31	Tamaind	Tamarind
38	beautiful spots	beauty-spots
42	clows	claws
99	stable-manure.	stable-manure,
116	exculants	exiles
118	waist	wrist
118	Kokaládi	Kokadádi
120	rein	rim
121ff	Doddi Auwa	Dodda-Auva
166	cobra capella	cobra di capella
168	favour	the favour
172	and pressure	(drop these words)
175	Omkaréswara	Onkaréswara
180	the Coorg shall	the Coorge shall
181	Cutcherry	Kachéri
184	hands?	hands.
185	on Báne	on a Báne
241	Harige Shime	Itterige Shime
259	end his life	end of his life
259	Lingrája	Lingarája
268	frobearing	forbearing
291	purpose	propose
336	Shanivár-sante	Sanivár-sante

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[For definitions and explanations of native terms see Index, category 116, 6: Spate AW1 India, pp. 789-821.]